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UNITED STATES
INFORMATION AGENCY

OUTGOING
TELEGRAM

(4)

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031187 HIA078
03/0518Z

SUBJECT: PUBLIC AFFAIRS GUIDANCE 87-11 -- GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS

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USIA

WHITE HSE FOR HOWARD AND NSC RAYMOND; USUN FOR HOTTELET

PARIS ALSO PASS AMS AND OECD; VIENNA ALSO PASS USDEL

CSCE PAA WILLIAMS; GENEVA ALSO PASS USDEL UNHRC PAA

LAWRENCE; FT BRAGG FOR USIA ADVISOR; MBFR FOR STEWART;

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THE LATEST ROUND OF INDIRECT TALKS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF AFGHANISTAN HAS OPENED IN GENEVA. THESE SHUTTLE TALKS ARE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE FOR A MINIMUM OF EIGHT DAYS, AND MAY LAST UP TO THREE WEEKS. REPORTS INDICATE THAT THE TALKS ARE CENTERING AROUND THE PROPOSED TIMETABLE FOR A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS, WHICH IS THE MAIN ISSUE REMAINING BEFORE THE NEGOTIATING PARTIES INITIAL THE FOUR AGREEMENTS.

IN ADDITION, SESSIONS MAY BE DEVOTED TO THE PROBLEM OF "NATIONAL RECONCILIATION" AND THERE IS SOME SPECULATION THAT THIS CONCEPT WILL ENGENDER MUCH WRANGLING OVER ITS MEANING AND EXECUTION.

THIS ROUND OF TALKS MAY ALSO FEATURE A VISIT BY AN AFGHAN MUJAHIDDIN ALLIANCE GROUP, WHICH WILL BE IN GENEVA FOR THE CURRENT SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

GIVEN PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS, THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND USIA WISH TO PROMULGATE A LIST OF PUBLIC THEMES ON AFGHANISTAN. THESE BELOW LISTED THEMES REPRESENT A COMPREHENSIVE STATEMENT OF U.S. POLICY ON AFGHANISTAN, AND THEY SHOULD BE DRAWN UPON BY AGENCY FIELD OFFICERS FOR INFORMATION AND DISCUSSION PURPOSES.

PUBLIC THEMES ON AFGHANISTAN

-- THE UNITED STATES WANTS THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE END TO THE AFGHAN WAR THROUGH A COMPREHENSIVE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT PROVIDING FOR THE RAPID AND COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS. WE SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF THE AFGHAN PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION, AND THE RESTORATION OF AN INDEPENDENT AND NON-ALIGNED AFGHANISTAN.

-- WE WELCOME SOVIET STATEMENTS THAT THEY WISH TO BRING ABOUT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT AND TO WITHDRAW THEIR TROOPS. WE WILL, HOWEVER, JUDGE THEM BY THEIR DEEDS, NOT THEIR WORDS. THE KEY TO A SETTLEMENT REMAINS THE PRESENTATION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF A SHORT TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR TROOPS. THIS SHOULD BE DONE DURING THE UN-SPONSORED NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA OF FEBRUARY 25TH.

-- WHILE WE REMAIN SKEPTICAL OF SOVIET INTENTIONS, WE BELIEVE THEY SHOULD BE PUT TO A TEST THROUGH POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS. THE INTENSIFIED DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN PLAY A PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT ROLE TO THIS END. THIS DIALOGUE IS CERTAINLY PREFERABLE TO THE POLICY OF THREATS AND INTIMIDATION PRACTICED BY THE SOVIET UNION UNTIL RECENTLY, A POLICY STILL EVIDENT IN FREQUENT MILITARY PROVOCATIONS ACROSS THE

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AFGHAN-PAKISTANI INTERNATIONAL BORDER.

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-- RECENT SOVIET PROPOSALS, WHILE MOVING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION, DO NOT GO FAR ENOUGH. A CEASEFIRE, IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREED TIMETABLE FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS, WOULD AMOUNT TO UNILATERAL SURRENDER BY THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE; REJECTION BY THE RESISTANCE ALLIANCE OF SUCH A CEASEFIRE IS UNDERSTANDABLE.

-- SIMILARLY, A GENUINE PROCESS OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IS ESSENTIAL IF POLITICAL STABILITY IS TO BE RESTORED TO AFGHANISTAN. WE ARE DOUBTFUL, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIET EFFORT TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION IS LIKELY TO SUCCEED, PREMISED AS IT IS ON THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR CURRENT PUPPET, NAJIBULLAH, AND ON THE CONDITION THAT THE LEADING ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS TO BE PRESERVED. THE SOVIETS ARE, OF COURSE, WELCOME TO TRY, BUT THE FUTILITY OF THIS EFFORT IS ALREADY BECOMING APPARENT.

-- AS AN ALTERNATIVE, WE SUGGEST THAT THE SOVIETS REACH OUT TO ALL ELEMENTS OF AFGHAN SOCIETY, AND PARTICULARLY TO THE LEADERS OF THE RESISTANCE WHOSE STRUGGLE HAS ATTRACTED ALMOST UNIVERSAL AFGHAN SUPPORT OVER THE PAST SEVEN YEARS. THE RECENT STATEMENT BY THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE ALLIANCE IN REPLY TO NAJIB'S CEASEFIRE PROPOSAL MAKES CLEAR THEIR READINESS TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS TO NEGOTIATE A PROMPT WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS. (P/G)

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